THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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GERMANY AND THE RUSSIAN PEACE TERMS

RUSSIA'S PROPOSALS AND GERMANY'S REPLIES.

I.—NO ANNEXATIONS.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—No forcible union of territories conquered during the War shall be permitted. The troops occupying such territories shall be withdrawn within the shortest period.

GERMAN REPLY.—It is not the intention of the allied Governments to appropriate forcibly territories which are at present occupied. The question of the troops in occupied territories must be settled in the sense of the withdrawal of troops from such and such places.

[The first half of this reply is entirely satisfactory. The second half is vague; it requires definition. Russia would do well to insist upon a time limit.]

II.—NO LOSS OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—The political independence of peoples that have lost their independence during the War shall be restored in its fullest extent.

GERMAN REPLY.—It is not the intention of the allies to rob of its independence any of the nations which in the course of this War have lost their political independence.

[This reply is entirely satisfactory.]

III.—THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES TO DECIDE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—National groups which before the War were not politically independent shall be guaranteed the possibility of deciding by referendum the question of belonging to one State or another, or enjoying their political independence. This referendum must be arranged in such a manner that complete independence in voting is guaranteed for the entire population of the region in question, including emigrants and refugees.

GERMAN REPLY.—The question of the State allegiance of national groups which possess no State independence cannot, in the opinion of the Quadruple Alliance, be regulated as between States, but is, if required, to be solved by every State with its peoples independently in a constitutional manner.

[Germany thus rejects Russia's proposal on this head, and desires to leave all subject peoples to continue their struggle for freedom without international aid.]

RUSSIAN REPLY.—The abolition of annexation is the logical consequence of the general principle of the right of peoples to regulate their own destinies. This right is recognised in existing constitutions only in a small degree, and consequently, to speak of constitutional channels as the sure means to achieve this right is to nullify this principle. It must be said that the four allied Powers, while they agree not to apply the right of the strongest in territories occupied during the war, nevertheless do nothing for small nationalities in their own territory. The War cannot come to an end without the restoration of independence to small nationalities. The Russian delegation, as formerly, insists on the rights of these nations being protected in the Peace Treaty. Historical prescription does not justify one people being subservient to another.

[We greatly sympathise with the Russian insistence on this demand, which would be a great step forward in human progress. But it seems well nigh impossible for the Russian Socialists to secure such a desirable consummation unless they are aided by the other democrats of Europe. The peoples of the Allied nations have been told that they are fighting for the freedom of small nationalities. Why are they silent now?]

IV.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—In regard to territory of mixed nationality, the right of the minority shall be protected by special law giving it independence of national culture and, if practicable, autonomous administration.

GERMAN REPLY.—Likewise according to the declaration of the statesmen of the Quadruple Alliance, protection of the right of minorities forms an essential component part of the constitutional right of peoples to self-determination. The allied Governments also grant validity to this principle everywhere in so far as it is practically realisable.

[This is somewhat vague and stiff, and should be further elucidated.]

V.—NO INDEMNITIES.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—None of the belligerent countries shall be obliged to pay another country any so-called war costs. Contributions already levied are to be paid back. Regarding the indemnification of losses suffered by private persons in consequence of the war, these shall be met out of a special fund to which the belligerents shall proportionately contribute.

GERMAN REPLY.—The allied Powers have frequently emphasised the possibility that not only could both sides renounce indemnification for war costs, but also indemnification for war damage. Accordingly every belligerent Power would only have to indemnify for the expenditure of its nationals who have become prisoners of war, as well as for damage done in their own territory by illegal acts of force committed against civilian nationals belonging to the enemy. The Russian Government's proposal for the creation of a special fund for this purpose could only be taken into consideration if other belligerent Powers were within a suitable period to join in the peace negotiations.

[Broadly speaking, Germany has agreed to the principle of "no indemnities." We like Russia's proposals of an international fund to indemnify the losses of private persons, but it is not worth fighting to secure this. Life and limb cannot be replaced by money, and in any case more is spent in fighting than ever will be got back by indemnities. It costs this country 50 million pounds a week to carry on the War. We should like to have an estimate for rebuilding the damaged houses and factories of Belgium. We imagine that much less than one week's cost of the War would cover it. The historic works of art can never be entirely restored. Obviously, it would be less costly for Britain, France and Russia to rebuild Belgium than to coerce Germany into doing it. Russia's proposal safeguards the interests of the individuals in smaller and poorer countries who may conceivably be left in the lurch by their powerful allies. Germany's proposal leaves individuals who have suffered by the War to seek redress from their own Governments, unless they are living in foreign countries, in which case, if, like the German bakers here, their homes were raided by the populace, that populace, through its Government, must grant redress. That is just. On the other hand, we do not see either logic or justice in the German proposal that Governments should pay the cost of maintaining their people as prisoners of War in other countries. That seems meanly unfair, though it would be folly to prolong the War on such a point.]

VI.—COLONIES.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—Colonial questions shall be decided in conformity with the principles laid down in Points 1 to 4.

GERMAN REPLY.—Of the four allied Powers, Germany alone possesses colonies. This German delegation, in complete accord with the Russian proposals, adds that the return of the German colonies taken by force during the War constitutes an essential part of the German demands,

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Of Special Interest This Week

PEACE TERMS SECRET TREATIES

SECRET TREATIES DISCLOSED BY BOLSHEVIKS

SECRET TREATIES AND THE WAR. THE TRUTH AT LAST!

The Russian Socialist Government (called the Bolshevik Government) has published the secret treaties, understandings and bargains entered into by the Governments of the European Powers. When the Russian Socialist Government came into power its members discovered the documents in the Russian Government's archives. Some of the information published by the Russian Socialist Government has appeared in British newspapers, and is re-published hereunder; the headings are ours. This information should be carefully studied, as from it we may learn how the War came and why it is prolonged.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," DEC. 12th.

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS A FREE HAND IN THE PART OF PERSIA IT HAS SEIZED.

FRANCE AND BRITAIN LEFT FREE TO DESPOIL GERMANY ON WEST; RUSSIA FREE TO DESPOIL GERMANY AND AUSTRIA ON EAST.

Telegraphic summaries have recently appeared in the British Press of a number of secret documents of the Russian Foreign Office, relating to agreements with the Allies under the regime of the late Tsar and published by M. Trotsky. The full text of these documents has not hitherto been available, but as they have been printed in the Petrograd newspapers they cannot but be common knowledge to Germany or any other country interested. The "Izvestia" (the organ of the Soviet) and the "Pravda" (the organ of the Bolsheviks) of November 23rd have just reached this country. They contain the first instalment of the secret documents as made public by M. Trotsky. Below we give a translation of these according to the Russian version.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND PERSIA.

The following relate to Constantinople, the Straits, and Persia:—

I.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREES TO RUSSIA'S ANNEXATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND STRAITS.

A confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris, March 5th, 1915. No. 1,226:—

On February 23rd (March 9th) the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, announced to me that France was prepared to take up a most favourable attitude in the matter of realisation of our desires as set out in my telegram to you, No. 937, in respect of the Straits and Constantinople, for which I charged you to tender Delcassé my gratitude.

In his conversations with you, Delcassé had previously more than once given his assurance that we could rely on the sympathy of France, and only referred to the need of elucidating the question of the attitude of England, from whom he feared some objections, before he could give us a more definite assurance in the above sense. Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for its economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts.

For me, personally,, filled as I am with most complete confidence in Delcassé, the assurance received from him is quite sufficient, but the Imperial Government would desire a more definite pronouncement of France's assent to the complete satisfaction of our desires, similar to that made by the British Government.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

II.

Confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris (? London), March 7th, 1915. No. 1,265:—

Referring to the memorandum of the British Government (? Embassy) here of March 12th, will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Imperial

(Continued on page 919.)

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Vol. IV., No. 41. Sat., January 5th, 1918.

HOW TO SECURE PEACE

The Russian Socialist Government is showing us the way to obtain a just Peace. Already it has secured the agreement of the German Government and its Allies to two out of the three cardinal points: I., *No Annexations*; II., *No Indemnities*. The third—*the Right of the Peoples to Decide their own Destiny*—was at first rejected by the Central Powers, but the reports of further negotiations appear to indicate that these points, too, will be conceded. The Russian delegates are powerful in negotiation, because they are seeking neither territorial, commercial, nor financial gains, no special advantage for Russia of any kind, only the freedom of all peoples. They are helped in their struggle to secure Peace from the capitalist Governments of the Central Empires by the agitation made by the Socialists within the Central Empires. Great Peace Demonstrations are held in Germany and Austria, and it is said that three hundred German Socialists who support Russia's terms have been recently imprisoned.

But what support is given to Russia here? A great Labour Conference, representing over three and a half million organised workers, has just met to discuss not *Terms of Peace*, but *War Aims*. Did it hail the efforts of the Russian Socialist Government, the first Government of the workers that the world has ever seen? No. Mr. Henderson even referred to the magnificent efforts and achievements of the Russian Socialists as "the present awful Russian disaster." The B.S.P. motion to refer back the paragraph denoting that the British Labour Movement is inflexibly resolved to fight on to a military victory was rejected by an enormous majority. The objects defined in the Labour War Aims resolutions are not really worth discussing, because the manifesto is purely academic. The great need of the moment was, and is, for strong backing for the Russian negotiators at Brest Litovsk. After the Labour Conference was over the joint executives of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress sent a telegram to the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau asking him to inform the Petrograd Soviet that the joint executives were opposed to a separate Peace! The joint executives ought to have communicated rather with the British Government, calling upon it to prevent a separate Peace by joining the Brest Litovsk negotiators in support of the Russian terms.

Just as the Labour War Aims Conference will make no difference, unfortunately, too, the Labour Food Conference will not affect the situation. The Food Conference asked for rationing of "as many commodities as possible"—rationing of certain staple commodities is certain to come as a necessity of the case if the War is prolonged. Indeed, the rich do not oppose it; they will not suffer, they will simply buy unrationed commodities. If the Labour Conference had been animated by the Bolshevik spirit it would have demanded the complete socialisation of the food supply, in order that every member of the community might have an equal share of what food there is. If the workers of this country were animated by the Bolshevik spirit they would use industrial pressure to secure the socialisation of food.

Because they have not caught the Bolshevik spirit British trade unionists still go to conferences with minds befogged by the impression that they have some quarrel with the conscript workers who are fighting their own conscript sons. Because they lack the Bolshevik spirit, poor British women standing in food queues still believe that the profiteers of this country are saving them from the working people in Germany, Austria and Turkey.

Because the people of this country are not awake, as are the Bolsheviks, Mr. Lloyd George, still talking platitudes about freedom, announces that still more men are to be taken away for fighting, and that the people are to face more rigorous privations. Because the people fail to realise that they are being enslaved and exploited, Mr. Lloyd George is able to announce that he and a group of others have formed at Versailles what, with amazing effrontery, he calls "A League of

(Continued on page 920, col. 2.)

GERMANY AND THE RUSSIAN PEACE TERMS

(Continued from front page.)

from which Germany will never desist. In the same way the Russian demand for the evacuation of such territories occupied by the enemy corresponds with Germany's intentions.

Taking into consideration the nature of the German colonial territories, the right in that connection of a free people to dispose of its destiny, independently of the considerations and principles cited above in the form proposed by the Russian delegation, is at present practically impossible. The fact that the natives are fighting under unfavourable conditions without hope of victory against a much stronger enemy who receives supplies by sea, and remain until death faithful to their German friends, is proof of their attachment and their resolution to maintain contact with Germany.

[Whilst demanding the return of the German colonies and promising to evacuate the territory it has conquered, the German Government in this case, as in that of Proposal III., refuses to abide by the verdict of a democratic vote. "The natives . . . remain until death faithful to their German friends," but the German Government is afraid to put their faith to the voting test! The Russians, however, press for a reconsideration.]

RUSSIAN REPLY.—The Russian delegation sees no contradiction with its principles in the German colonies occupied by enemy troops being evacuated by those troops and in the annulment of the regime instituted during the War in these colonies as proof that the peoples who have taken part in the War are entitled to express a will of their own. Any difficulties arising can be adjusted by Commissions to be officially appointed.

VII.—NO ECONOMIC RESTRAINT OR BOYCOTT.

RUSSIAN SUPPLEMENTARY PROPOSAL.—Contracting parties should brand every kind of covert combating of the freedom of weak nations by strong as not permissible; as, for example, by economic boycott, by economic predominance of one country over another on the ground of forced commercial treaties, by special tariff treaties which restrict freedom of trade with a third country, or by a sea blockade which does not pursue a direct war aim.

GERMAN REPLY.—The Russian proposal relating to economic principles, which has been approved by the delegates of the Central Powers, insists that at no time should any economic restraint be imposed. This condition is of the greatest importance in the preparation of amicable relations between the belligerent countries.

[This reply is perfectly satisfactory. But it must be recognised that the entire trend of modern capitalism is opposed to this proposal, and that the only way to ensure its being carried out by all nations in the letter and in the spirit is to abolish capitalism.]

GERMANY PREPARED TO AGREE TO THESE CONDITIONS WITH ALL NATIONS.

Count Czernin, who replied to the Russian proposals on behalf of Germany and her allies, began with the following declaration:—

"Of opinion that the main lines of the Russian proposals form a discussable basis for such a peace, the delegates of the Quadruple Alliance are in accord with an immediate general peace, without forcible acquisitions of territory, and without war indemnities. . . . They solemnly declare their determination to sign, without delay, a peace that will end this war on the foregoing basis without exception and with the same just conditions for all belligerent Powers."

He then said: It must, however, be expressly pointed out that all the Powers now participating in the War must, within a suitable period, without exception and without any reserve, bind themselves to the most precise adherence to the conditions binding all nations in the same manner, if the suppositions of the Russian exposé are to be fulfilled, for it would not do for the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance negotiating with Russia one-sidedly to tie themselves to these conditions without a guarantee that Russia's Allies will recognise and will carry out these conditions honestly and without reserve also as regards the Quadruple Alliance.

[What becomes now of the story that Peace cannot be secured till Germany is beaten, except by allowing Germany to retain stolen territory, or by paying indemnities to Germany? The Russian delegates arranged for the suspension of the Peace discussions in order to give the representatives of other nations an opportunity to join in. What will Britain, France, Italy, America, Belgium, and the other belligerents do? The German Government has not yet agreed to all the Russian Socialists ask, but it has gone further than the Government of any other country. When are the so-called democratic Governments to be made to follow?]

REPORTED FURTHER PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

A Reuter telegram from Brest-Litovsk via Berlin dated December 28th was published in the "Manchester Guardian" on December 31st. This telegram, which we accept only reservedly, as it does not come direct from the Russian Socialist Government, reported that agreements had been reached concerning the return home of prisoners of war, the return of captured merchant ships, the stopping of economic war, and so on. The Russians were reported as having made the following proposals:—

PEOPLES TO DECIDE OWN DESTINY.

RUSSIAN PROPOSAL.—In full accord with the public declarations of both contracting parties that they cherish no bellicose plans, and that they desire to conclude peace without annexations, Russia will withdraw her troops from all parts of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Persia occupied by her, while the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance will withdraw theirs from Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and other regions of Russia.

In accordance with the principles of the Russian Government, which has declared the right of all peoples living in Russia to self-determination, including even separation, the populations in these districts will be given an opportunity within the shortest possible period of deciding entirely and freely the question of their union with one or other empire, or of their formation into independent States. In this connection the presence of any troops, apart from the national or local militia in the territories which are voting, is not permissible.

Until this question is decided the government of these regions will remain in the hands of representatives of the local population elected democratically. The date of evacuation in other circumstances and the commencement of the demobilisation of the army is to be fixed by a special military commission.

GERMAN REPLY.—Germany then proposed to give the following form to the two first articles of the preliminary treaty which is to be concluded:—

I. Russia and Germany are to declare the state of war at an end. Both nations are resolved to live together in future in peace and friendship on the condition of complete reciprocity. Vis-a-vis her Allies Germany would be ready, as soon as peace is concluded with Russia and the demobilisation of the Russian armies has been accomplished, to evacuate her present positions and occupied Russian territory in so far as no different inferences result from Article 2.

II. The Russian Government, having in accordance with its principles proclaimed for all peoples without exception living within the Russian Empire the right of self-determination, including complete separation, takes cognisance of the decisions expressing the will of the people demanding full State independence and separation from the Russian Empire for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia. The Russian Government recognises that in the present circumstances these manifestations must be regarded as the expression of the will of the people, and is ready to draw conclusions therefrom. As in those districts to which the foregoing stipulations apply the question of evacuation is not such as is provided for in Article 1, a special Commission shall discuss and fix the time and other details in conformity and accordance with the Russian idea of the necessary ratification by plebiscite on broad lines and without any military pressure whatever of the already existing proclamations of separation.

The Austrian delegation made a similar statement.

RUSSIAN REPLY.—The Russian delegation took cognisance of these statements, and defined their standpoint as follows:—

Our standpoint is that only such a manifestation of will can be regarded as de facto the expression of the will of the people as results from a free vote taken in the districts in question, with the complete absence of foreign troops. We therefore propose and must insist that a clearer and more precise formulation of this point be made. We, however, consent to a special commission being appointed for the examination of the technical conditions for the realisation of such a referendum, and also for the fixing of a definite time for evacuation. In view of the course which the negotiations have hitherto taken, it can be stated with satisfaction that as regards the settlement of the most important questions the views of the represented Powers tally on many points, while as regards others their views approach each other, so that also regarding the latter point the hope of arriving at an agreement is well-founded.

[The fact that Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, are being allowed to determine to what empire they shall be allied, or whether they shall be independent self-governing republics is being grossly misrepresented. It is pretended that to allow the peoples to decide their own destiny is to hand them over to Germany. The result of the referenda will probably be that these territories will become independent self-governing republics. But, in any case, their inhabitants have the right to decide.]

* * * *

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

Nation wide Suffrage for Women on an Adult Suffrage basis in U.S.A. will be voted on by the Lower House on January 10th. On a preliminary division the Suffragists scored a victory of seven more than two-thirds of the House."

SECRET TREATIES (continued from front page).

Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires. The Imperial Government fully appreciates the sentiments of the British Government and feels certain that a sincere recognition of mutual interests will secure for ever the firm friendship between Russia and Great Britain.

Having already given its promise respecting the conditions of trade in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no objection to confirming its assent to the establishment (1) of free transit through Constantinople for all goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia, and (2) free passage through the Straits for merchant vessels.

RUSSIA UNDERTAKES TO BRIBE OTHER STATES TO ASSIST.

In order to facilitate the breaking through of the Dardanelles undertaken by the Allies, the Imperial Government is prepared to co-operate in inducing those States whose help is considered useful by Great Britain and France to join in the undertaking on reasonable terms.

The Imperial Government completely shares the view of the British Government that the holy Moslem places must also in future remain under an independent Moslem rule. It is desirable to elucidate at once whether it is contemplated to leave those places under the rule of Turkey, the Sultan retaining the title of Caliph, or to create new independent States, since the Imperial Government would only be able to formulate its desires in accordance with one or other of these assumptions. On its part the Imperial Government would regard the separation of the Caliphate from Turkey as very desirable. Of course the freedom of pilgrimage must be completely secured.

RUSSIA AGREES THAT BRITAIN SHALL HAVE REMAINDER OF PERSIA.

The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of influence. At the same time, however, it regards it as just to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd, forming with them one inseparable whole, should be secured for Russia in view of the Russian interests which have arisen there. The neutral zone now forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and comes up to the very frontier line of Russia at Tulgager. Hence a portion of this wedge will have to be annexed to the Russian sphere of influence. Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of railway construction in the neutral zone, which will require further amicable discussion.

The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognised in the sphere of influence allotted to it, coupled in particular with the right of preferentially developing in that sphere its financial and economic policies.

Lastly, the Imperial Government considers it desirable simultaneously to solve also the problems in Northern Afghanistan adjoining Russia in the sense of the wishes expressed on the subject by the Imperial Ministry in the course of the negotiations last year.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

FRONTIERS EAST AND WEST.

The following refers to the redrawing of the Germanic frontiers east and west and to the questions of Scandinavia, Poland, Rumania, and China :—

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris :—

Petrograd, February 24th, 1917. No. 948.

Please refer to my telegram No. 6063, 1915. At the forthcoming Conference you may be guided by the following general principles :—

The political agreements concluded between the Allies during the war must remain intact, and are not subject to revision. They include the agreement with France and England on Constantinople, the Straits, Syria, and Asia Minor, and also the London Treaty with Italy. All suggestions for the future delimitation of Central Europe are at present premature, but in general one must bear in mind that we are prepared to allow France and England complete freedom in drawing up the western frontiers of Germany, in the expectation that the Allies on their part would allow us equal freedom in drawing up our frontiers with Germany and Austria.

NO POLISH FREEDOM!

It is particularly necessary to insist on the exclusion of the Polish question from the subjects of international discussion and on the elimination of all attempts to place the future of Poland under the guarantee and the control of the Powers.

POSSIBILITY OF WAR WITH SWEDEN.

With regard to the Scandinavian States, it is necessary to endeavour to keep back Sweden from any action hostile to us, and at the same time to examine betimes measures for attracting Norway on our side in case it should prove impossible to prevent a war with Sweden.

Rumania has already been offered all the political advantages which could induce her to take up arms, and therefore it would be perfectly futile to search for new baits in this respect.

TO PUSH GERMANY OUT OF THE CHINESE MARKET.

The question of pushing out the Germans from the Chinese market is of very great importance, but its solution is impossible without the participation of Japan. It is preferable to examine it at the Economic Conference, where the representatives of Japan will be present. This does not exclude the desirability of a preliminary exchange of views on the subject between Russia and England by diplomatic means.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

FRANCE AND THE RHINE.

The following relate to the proposals by a former French Government regarding Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine :—

I.

GERMANY TO BE PUSHED BACK BEHIND THE RHINE.

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris :—

Petrograd, January 30th, 1917. No. 502.

Copy to London confidentially. At an audience with the Most High M. Doumergue submitted to the Emperor the desire of France to secure for herself at the end of the present war the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and a special position in the valley of the River Saar as well as to attain the political separation from Germany of her trans-Rhenish districts and their organisation on a separate basis in order that in future the River Rhine might form a permanent strategical frontier against a Germanic invasion. Doumergue expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would not refuse immediately to draw up its assent to these suggestions in a formal manner.

His Imperial Majesty was pleased to agree to this in principle, in consequence of which I requested Doumergue, after communicating with his Government, to let me have the draft of an agreement, which would then be given a formal sanction by an exchange of Notes between the French Ambassador and myself.

Proceeding thus to meet the wishes of our ally, I nevertheless consider it my duty to recall the standpoint put forward by the Imperial Government in the telegram of February 24th, 1916, No. 948, to the effect that, "while allowing France and England complete liberty in delimiting the western frontiers of Germany, we expect that the Allies on their part will give us equal liberty in delimiting our frontiers with Germany and Austro-Hungary." Hence the impending exchange of Notes on the question raised by Doumergue will justify us in asking the French Government simultaneously to confirm its assent to allowing Russia freedom of action in drawing up her future frontiers in the west. Exact data on the question will be supplied by us in due course to the French Cabinet.

In addition we deem it necessary to stipulate for the assent of France to the removal at the termination of the War of the disqualifications resting on the Aland Islands. Please explain the above to Briand and wire the results.

(Signed) POKROVSKY.

II.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris :—

January 31st (February 13th), 1917. No. 88.

Copy to London. Referring to your telegram No. 507 confidentially, I immediately communicated in writing its contents to Briand, who told me that he would not fail to give me an official reply of the French Government, but that he could at once declare, on his own behalf, that the satisfaction of the wishes contained in your telegram will meet with no difficulties.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

III.

FIGHTING FOR COAL AND IRON.

Copy of a Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of February 1st (14th), 1917, No. 26, addressed to the French Ambassador in Petrograd :—

In your Note of to-day's date your Excellency was good enough to inform the Imperial Government that the Government of the Republic was contemplating the inclusion in the terms of peace to be offered to Germany the following demands and guarantees of a territorial nature :—

1. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France.
2. The frontiers are to be extended at least up to the limits of the former principality of Lorraine, and are to be drawn up at the discretion of the French Government so as to provide for the strategical needs and for the inclusion in French territory of the entire iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar valley.
3. The rest of the territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependency upon her.
4. The territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral State, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the treaty of peace.

Your Excellency stated that the Government of the Republic would be happy to be able to rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans. By order of his Imperial Majesty, my most august master, I have the honour, in the name of the Russian Government, to inform your Excellency by the present Note that the Government of the Republic may rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans as set out above.

IV.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris, February 26th (March 11th), 1917, No. 168 :—

See my reply to telegram No. 167, No. 2. The Government of the French Republic, anxious to confirm the importance of the treaties concluded with the Russian Government in 1916 for the settlement on the termination of the war of the question of Constantinople and the Straits in accordance with Russia's aspirations, anxious, on the other hand, to secure for its ally in military and industrial respects all the guarantees desirable for the safety and the economic development of the Empire, recognises Russia's complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," November 28th, 1917.

CUTTING UP TURKEY IN ASIA.

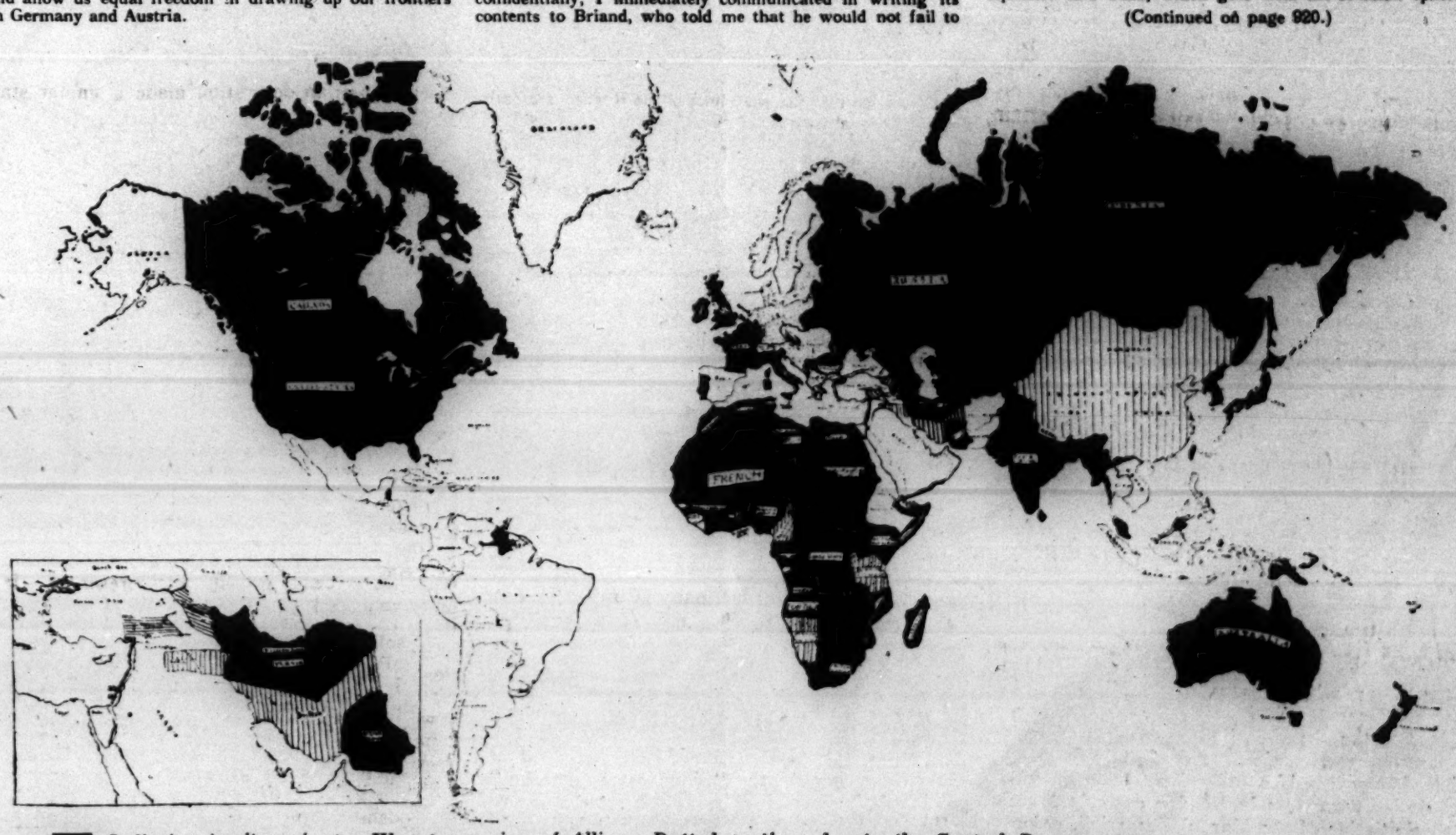
Petrograd, Sunday, Dec. 25th.

Further diplomatic documents on the relations between Russia and the Allies are published to-day. A memorandum dated February 21st, 1917, sets forth an agreement between Russia, France, and England in the spring of 1916 over Asiatic Turkey. Russia receives in Armenia the Erzerum, Trebizond, Bitlis, and Van vilayets and Kurdistan down to the line Sert-Amadia on the Persian frontier. France receives the sea-board of Syria, the Adana vilayet, and Lesser Armenia to the line Aintab-Mardin on the south and Kaisarieh-Kharput on the north. England receives Lower Mesopotamia and special rights in the Syrian ports Haifa and Jaffa. Between the English and French zones are to be independent Arabian States. Alexandretta is to be a free port and Palestine a protectorate under Russia, France, and England.

TO ANNEX THE REST OF PERSIA.

England receives the neutral zone in Persia except Isphahan and Yezd, which goes with the Russian sphere.

(Continued on page 920.)



Indicates territory in pre-War possession of Allies. Dotted portions denote the Central Powers.

Indicates territory which the secret treaties would give to the Allies. We have not been able to give this fully in some cases, especially that of Italy, as the boundaries are not precisely indicated in the treaties. Reading them in conjunction with the speeches of Allied statesmen, we are of opinion that the whole of Turkey would be absorbed by the Allies if the treaties were carried.

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5th.
Whitmore Head, Hoxton, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park, 3 p.m., Miss Maud Gonne, Miss Price.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism, Votes for All in Stratford. Meet at 2.30 p.m. at 73 Calderon Road, Leytonstone. Meeting at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. L. Hogben.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th.
Labour Hall, Ilford, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier: "Internationalism."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8th.
85 Camberwell Grove, 7.30 p.m., Edward Fuller: "The Decay of Chivalry."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10th.
Co-operative Hall, King Street, Southall, 3 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Friends Meeting House, Hanover Street, Rye Lane, Mrs. Bouvier: "Russia Past and Present."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12th.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Bow and Poplar Social.

Monthly Sunday indoor meetings will be held at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, beginning January 20th, at 7 p.m., when Mr. Philip Frankford will speak on "The Importance of Organising the Young." Miss Smyth in the chair.

The weekly lectures at 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields will be resumed on Thursday, January 24th, at 7.30 p.m., when Mr. A. L. Bacharach will speak on "Industrial Unionism," and Mrs. Bouvier on "The Present Outlook."

BIRMINGHAM.—A meeting will be held in Stirchley Institute on Wednesday, January 9th, at 7.30 p.m. Mr. P. Durant will open a discussion on "Current Events." Will all members turn up and make a special New Year effort to get new members?

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, Bromley-by-Bow, at 8.15 p.m. Sunday, January 6th, George Lansbury—"The New Year's Message."

HERALD LEAGUE, STEPNEY BRANCH

A SOCIAL EVENING
will be held at
400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.,
on SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th, 1918,
in Aid of our Building Fund
At 7 p.m. sharp. Entrance 6d.

HOW TO SECURE PEACE

(Continued from page 918.)

Nations; a complete machine for dealing not merely with naval and military matters, but with financial, economic, shipping and other matters essential to the life of a nation." "A League of Nations," forsooth! What part in this governing machine, which directs their death and starvation, has the mass of the peoples concerned?

But if we grow impatient with the slow-thinking Labour movement and the working masses of the people, we must remember always that it is from this Labour movement, from these working masses, that the Socialist Commonwealth of the future must arise.

Labour is poorly clad, poorly fed, poorly taught in childhood; Labour leaves the elementary school for the workshop at twelve to fourteen years; Labour works for a pittance at manual tasks from early morning till late at night; Labour has little money to buy books, little time to read. Capitalism dominates the newspaper world, the publishing houses, the theatres, all the great avenues for manufacturing public opinion. That is why Labour's spokesmen sometimes seem possessed by the strange desire to emulate Mr. Lloyd George.

Somehow or other the British Labour movement must be aroused to demand the Russian Bolshevik Peace Terms and the Russian Bolshevik way of dealing with the world.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The Best New Year's Gift is "The Dreadnought." 6/6 per annum, post free.

INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Class in Political Evolution and Industrial History re-opening on SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th, at 3.30 p.m., at Water Lane Infants' Hall, Stratford, E.

Conducted by L. T. HOGBEN, B.A., B.Sc., and H. E. COUSENS, B.A.

Fee for Half Session (10 lectures) - - 1s.

Secretary: Kitty E. Read, 85 Central Park Road, East Ham, E.6.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS TO LET to English wife; rent 5s. weekly; second floor, rooms facing front; children (not more than two) not objected to; Central London.—Apply Box 400, this office.

WORKING HOUSEKEEPER (live in) REQUIRED by Lady; ten-roomed house near Baker Street Station; no meals required to be prepared beyond breakfast; salary by arrangement; accommodation could be provided for friend; suitable for mother and daughter, two sisters.—Apply Box 400.

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SECRET TREATIES (concluded from page 919).

BRIBES TO ROUMANIA: HER COLLAPSE.

Another document signed by M. Polivanoff, a former War Minister, and dated November 7th, 1916, concerning Rumania, states that a Russo-Rumanian military-political convention was concluded in August, 1916, giving the latter Bukovina, the Banat, and Transylvania. Polivanoff states that in the event of Rumania's success she becomes a powerful country with a population of thirteen millions, that she will hardly remain friendly to Russia over Bessarabia, and will lessen Russia's influence in the Balkans. "In view of this the collapse of Greater Rumania is an idea not against the interests of Russia, and the present condition of Rumania must be used to strengthen those ties by which she is compulsorily bound to us."

Another communication by Terestchenko to the Ambassadors abroad dated October 9th, 1917, states that the English, French, and Italian Ambassadors in Petrograd asked to see M. Kerensky recently and expressed the fear that the state of Russia would force the public opinion of their countries to demand an exact account for the material assistance given. It was desirable therefore for the Russian Government to take measures to establish discipline in the country and to raise a true military spirit in the army. Another telegram of the same date from M. Terestchenko to the Ambassador at Washington states that this action of the British, French, and Italian Ambassadors created a painful impression on the Russian Government, and he thanked the American Government for not taking part in it.

—M. Philips Price.

A SUGGESTED RUSSO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

(From our Correspondent.)
Petrograd, Monday, Nov. 26th.

There is published in to-day's "Isvestia" a scheme of agreement between Russia and Germany, dated May 4th, 1909, drawn up by M. Tcharikoff, and presented to the late Emperor. Clause 1 states that the strained Austro-Serbian relations must not react on Russo-German relations. In clause 2 Germany associates herself with the Austro-Russian Agreement of 1897. By clause 3 Germany guarantees the fulfilment by Austria of her undertaking not to acquire further territory in the Balkans. Failing this, Germany will not consider the advance of Russian troops into Austria a *casus fœderis*. Clause 4 states that if the Berlin Treaty comes up for revision Germany will give Russia diplomatic assistance to secure a decision of the question of the Straits in a sense favourable to Russia. By clause 5 Germany agrees to the construction of a Danube-Adriatic railway. Under clause 6 Germany recognises Russia's right to come out of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 concerning Persia. There is a secret clause that in the event of England's attack on Germany Russia remains neutral.

—M. Philips Price.

ITALY AND THE ENTENTE.

Petrograd, Sunday, Nov. 25th.

The publication of the "secret" diplomatic papers continues in the bulletin of the Soviets and in the "Pravda," the organ of the Ministry. An undated document deals with the circumstances leading to the Russo-Italian Agreement of 1915, preparatory to the withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance and her adhesion to the Entente.

Negotiations began in London early in March on the initiative of the Marquis Imperiali. Complications followed owing to the efforts of Germany to induce Austria to make concessions to Italy as well as owing to the clash of interests among the negotiating Powers. France and Russia respectively considered the demands of Italy on the west and the east sides of the Adriatic to be excessive. Russia defended Jugo-Slav interests and resisted step by step the efforts of Italy to increase her portion of the coast and to obtain the neutralisation of that assigned to Serbia. Eventually the Convention was signed in London on April 26th, and on the very day of the signature Russia succeeded in obtaining some concessions for Serbia and Montenegro.

CONFERENCE OF FINANCIERS.

On November 26th, 1917, the "Manchester Guardian" published telegrams dated November 24th from the Telegraph Agency, acting under the direction of the Maximalists, which summarised the information which was later given in detail as above. Also the following secret telegram from the Russian Ambassador at Berne announcing that some big financiers were conferring in Switzerland:—

The British deny having participated in the conference. Nevertheless, a director of —— Bank (here the name of a leading London bank is given) arrived at Geneva on September 2nd, 1917. Nothing definite is known so far as Russia is concerned. It appears, however, that it was suggested that the Central Powers might obtain certain compensations in the East, and that the German participants in the conference insisted on the cession of the Baltic provinces and the independence of Finland.

Note.—With reference to the concluding passage of the above telegram, Reuter's Agency points out that the following statement was issued by the Foreign Office on September 15th:—

Reports have appeared in the British and neutral press to the effect that a meeting of financiers recently took place in Switzerland to consider the effects of the war on international finance and to discuss terms of peace. It is said that British subjects entered into relations with subjects of enemy Powers for this purpose. His Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any such meeting, and no passports have been issued to British subjects for this or any similar purpose. In the event of any information reaching the Government that there has been any meeting with such an object between enemy subjects and British subjects the appropriate legal proceedings will be taken to punish the offenders.

"THE TIMES," NOVEMBER 26th, 1907.

"The Times" adds in regard to the financiers' conference, quoting, like the Guardian, from a telegram of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, dated September 17th, 1907:—

"The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the satisfaction of Italy were laid down as the basis of Peace. Nothing was decided in regard to Russia, but the idea was expressed that the Central Powers might obtain compensation on their Eastern frontiers, the Germans insisting on the annexation of the Baltic provinces and the independence of Finland."

ITALY'S REWARD.

On December 1st the "Manchester Guardian" published the following from Petrograd:—

"A treaty between the Allies and Italy is published to-day, according to which Italy receives the Trentino, South Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia, with the neutral zone between the latter region and Serbia. In the south the Adriatic region from the river Planka to the Drina goes to Serbia. Italy receives Vallona and the hinterland. Italy agrees not to oppose England, France and Russia in the partition of Albania between Montenegro and Serbia, if such be deemed desirable. Italy receives Dodecanese and Adalia in Asiatic Turkey.

In the event of British-French colonial expansion in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy receives compensation in the right to expand the territory to Eretria, Somaliland, Livia, into the hinterland. England, France and Russia undertake to support Italy against the Holy See if the latter attempts to take steps towards Peace."

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," DEC. 21st.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

A secret treaty has been discovered here at the Foreign Office between Russia and Japan, signed by M. Sazonoff and the Japanese Ambassador in Petrograd on July 3rd, 1916.

Article 1 recognises that it is in the interests of both Powers to keep China free from the influence of a third Power hostile to Japan and Russia, and sanctions common action with this object.

Article 2 states that in the event of a third Power taking hostile action Russia and Japan agree to act together, and not to conclude Peace except in common.

Article 3 defines measures for common action.

Article 4 states that neither of the contracting parties is bound by this treaty unless assured that the other party has done the utmost to settle the conflict with the third Power amicably.

Article 5 states that the treaty remains in force till July 14th, 1921.

M. Philips Price.

[If this Treaty had been carried out it would have meant the economic domination of China by Russia and Japan. Since Russia withdrew a similar arrangement has been made by Japan and America.]

A soldier at the front writes to one of our Peace Pickets:

"I hope your efforts will soon be crowned with success. I have gained experience out here, but experience costs a lot. War is a very expensive and brutal way of settling disputes. Some day, thanks to people like you, sweet reason will prevail and save all this horror and bloodshed. . . ."

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